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Virendra Kumar Gandhi, Research Scholar
Department of Gandhuan and Peace Studies Mahatma Gandhi Central University, Bihar

Gandhi's Legacy of Satyagraha (Nonviolent Struggle): Western Theoretical Dimensions

*Aslam Khan **

*Virendra Kumar Gandhi***

Satyagraha is one of the main nonviolent philosophical methods of Gandhiji. Gandhi gave form to this philosophy and made it a life practice. By practising this philosophy, Gandhi successfully fought against multi-dimensional colonialism in India and sent a message to the world that battles can be won through nonviolent methods and by nonviolent weapons too. Gandhian philosophy of nonviolent struggle was studied extensively by the scholars and researchers of the West who simultaneously emphasized over its institutionalization. In the process, Western scholars made a subtle division between the theoretical and practical nonviolent struggle to further develop it into the form of a concept. In the present article, the western scholarship of nonviolent struggle philosophy, partition, and its new form has been studied in post-Gandhian times.

Keywords-Gandhian Philosophy, Nonviolent Struggle, Satyagraha, Multidimensional Colonialism

Introduction - Gandhi's nonviolent struggle for Indian independence from British rule to achieve economic independence and eradicate caste inequality is considered the genesis of the study of nonviolence. It was the Gandhian attempt to employ the methods of civil resistance and nonviolent approaches during the struggle for Indian national independence that Indian independence

*Department of Gandhian and Peace Studies Mahatma Gandhi Central University, Bihar

**Research Scholar Department of Gandhian and Peace Studies Mahatma Gandhi Central University, Bihar

movement garnered international attention. In addition to this, he was successful in the face of superior military and economic might. He wrote numerous books and articles that threw light on his tactics and ideas.

How does citizen-based power influence nonviolent social change activism? Gandhi was the first person to champion a systematic authority-based method. Gandhi used civil disobedience with Satyagraha (Truth Force) to attain political independence ethically and nonviolently. As a result of Gandhi's success in India, peaceful protests against democratic, monarchical, and authoritarian regimes soon spread across the globe. This strategy is used to fight for rights, liberties, and equality in social, political, and economic sphere. Given these developments, it would be inaccurate to assume that the struggle through nonviolent means remained the way as Gandhi envisioned. Nature, objectivity, and means have all undergone significant transformations. This essay examines how prominent Western social scientist, civil resistance scholars commented and categorized Gandhi's nonviolent struggle.

Nonviolent Struggle (Satyagraha) as Idea and Practice- Gandhi's nonviolent stance might be understood as a theology of liberation, liberation, or conflict transformation philosophy. Philosopher Arne Naess and sociologist Joan Bondurant have tried to make sense of Gandhi's seemingly contradictory and nonsensical beliefs. From these two foundational works in nonviolence studies, we can extrapolate the core principles of Gandhian nonviolence. Bondurant uses this concept to express his nonviolent philosophy, sharing Gandhi's belief that it best encapsulates the core of nonviolent resistance (Satyagraha). The practice of steadfastly holding to the Truth is known as Satyagraha, or nonviolent resistance (Naess, 1974. pp. 151; 153)

The three pillars of nonviolent resistance (Satyagraha), as outlined by Bondurant, are adherence to the Truth (Satya), abstaining from violence (Ahimsa), and self-denial (asceticism) (Tapasya). The latter indicates sincerity rather than weakness. As we will see in the following chapter, nonviolence is the fight against violence that does not resort to violence itself. So, through nonviolence and suffering, the disharmony brought about by conflict is transformed, and the Truth is reached. The book explores nonviolence with Gandhi's nonviolent struggle (Satyagraha) (and Bondurant). Although nonviolence is only one of three tenets of nonviolent resistance (Satyagraha), it is essential to have a holistic understanding of Gandhi's philosophy (Bondurant, 1988. pp. 32; 33).

In 1930, at the height of the Indian freedom struggle, Gandhi and hundreds of other revolutionaries were imprisoned once more. While incarcerated, he spent most of his time spinning yarn and writing letters to his family. Gandhi writes in one of his writings that practising Ahimsa (nonviolence) requires a person to be willing to endure suffering indefinitely and have infinite patience. Without Ahimsa, it is impossible to pursue or arrive at the Truth. It's very difficult to separate Ahimsa and Truth due of their interconnectedness. They resemble two unmarked coins or metal discs. Who can distinguish a coin's front and back? The objective is Truth, and the method is Ahimsa.

In order to maintain this way of life, Ahimsa must become our highest commitment, and Truth must become our deity. Gandhi advised that if we take care of the tools, we will get where we need to go. If we chose to do this, we will have already won the battle. There is only one God, and there is only one way to realize it—through the practice of Ahimsa. We have no intention of stopping

now. In the name of the God who bears Truth, we pray that he gives us the fortitude to keep it (Bondurant, 1988. pp. 32; 33).

Gandhian Legacy of Nonviolent Struggle (Satyagraha)- Like Boétie and Thoreau before him, Gandhi argued that the British could not govern and dominate India's 300 million people if they (Indians) refused to cooperate. As a result, he developed a comprehensive strategy with nine parts when the war for Indian independence began. The first stage entails reaching an agreement with one's adversary. Gathering and analysing facts, talking to their opponents, and looking for areas of agreement are the things citizen resisters need to do before taking any action. Rebels in the civil realm are obliged to detail their problems and provide concrete solutions. At this phase, both parties are given latitude to make changes, and the goal is to develop friendly and cooperative relationships with the other. However, opponents sometimes resist accepting the proposed changes because they do not want to cede their dominant position's power, privilege, and benefits (Naess, 1958). Civil resisters opposed to change must organize for direct action thereafter. Gandhi stressed Satyagraha in the Indian freedom struggle. Therefore, people needed to be encouraged to reflect, communicate, and act peacefully. Nonviolent activists (Satyagrahis) are trained to evaluate their reasons since humiliating or destroying the opponent undermines the effort. Gandhi also wanted people to know the repercussions and bear hardship without violence. (Chabot, 2011).

It was only after the cadre of nonviolent struggle practitioners (Satyagrahis) was developed, that the third stage of agitation could be implemented. Protests, marches, picket lines, and other forms of public dissent may show the strength of community resistance. However,

they are not demonstrations of defiance but only expressions of disagreement. Gandhi said a last opportunity to comply with the movement's demands should be provided before resorting to the opposition. So, the fourth stage is to set a deadline. The opposition makes one final appeal, threatening direct action campaigns against the state if speedy action is not taken. Civil resisters may slowly erode various governmental support areas if the ultimatum is ignored or refused.

In the subsequent stages, measures of resistance will be taken. In the latter stage, civil resisters actively undermined the state's income source via actions like economic boycotts and worker strikes. In the last stage, people refuse to cooperate and leave political institutions, societal norms and routines. Another component is the incitement of military personnel to disobey orders to arrest or repress resisters. In the last stage, citizens actively fight unjust laws by acting directly. It includes not complying with legal requirements, such as tax payments or the use of government-issued identification. When these measures are applied, the public becomes disorderly, showing the authorities they are helpless without popular support.

At the ninth and last stage, civil resisters start taking over governmental functions and establish a parallel government, making the unjust or illegitimate state irrelevant. That is why it is recommended that individuals take their disputes to a neutral third party inside the movement rather than a government court. People are advised to establish private educational institutions rather than enrolling their children in public ones. One of Gandhi's key goals in using this tactic was to show the ruling class how powerless they were in the face of a rebellious populace. The plan also removes any motivation for governing effectively. Gandhi recognized that the last stages of building a parallel government should be taken

before the incumbent administration had been overthrown in order to transition to a new state. It also shows political elites that their positions are pointless and unnecessary. Hence, each step undermines the present political system and sets the stage for establishing a new one.

The success of Gandhi's strategy in leading to India's independence from the British increased its credibility and visibility. People from across the globe watched in awe and shock and subsequently tried to replicate it in their environments. However, Gandhi cautioned that these tactics should not be a coldly materialistic way to get what they want. He emphasized that this strategy could only be implemented following Satyagraha or the nonviolent pursuit of Truth. Gandhi recognized that it did not matter how much pressure was put on the opposition to give up their resistance; peaceful campaigns implemented with violence or hatred were certain to fail. He drafted rules outlining how civil resisters should act to ensure the movement stayed true to Satyagraha's ideals (David, 2006).

Throughout a campaign of civil resistance, Gandhi's strategic guidance to the practitioners of nonviolent struggle serves several functions. When everyone uses it the same way, it helps spread a culture of respect for one's opponent and peaceful discipline. Without this code of conduct, anger may easily spiral out of hand, making it hard for the detractors to see the justness of the cause. Using violence as a disciplinary measure may inflame tensions and give the authorities an excuse to clamp down. This order is also meant to maintain harmony within the movement itself, making it harder for the opposition to exploit any cracks that may appear there. It is imperative that a Satyagraha movement promotes the search for the Truth and a solution that is acceptable to all sides, and it is exactly what the directive does (Naess, 1974).

Gandhi thought it was counterproductive to force the opposition to change their ideas. He said that the objective is to convince the other side that our concerns and goals are shared by both parties in order to achieve an agreement. Gandhi emphasized that nonviolent activists (Satyagrahis) should search for methods to help their opponents since this demonstrates a desire to reach an agreement rather than win via force.

Civil resisters are an integral element of a satyagraha campaign, and Gandhi advised them not to give up on their goals. Greek philosophers initially characterized the dialectic dynamic, observing that progress happens via the interaction of opposites: one side makes a statement (or thesis). In contrast, the other side presents an opposing claim. It is to explain why various academics came up with the notion of a "Gandhian dialectic" (or antithesis).

Like Gandhi's belief, the Satyagraha movement begins with limited truths since no one can possess absolute Truth. Satyagrahis, in order to avoid giving in to compromise, must steadfastly uphold the Truth as they now perceive it while admitting that they may be erroneous. They successfully convince their opponents of their claims while encouraging them to do the same. Although Satyagraha should always be open to new ideas and perspectives, they should only back down from a principled stance on an issue once they are certain that doing so is by their beliefs and the Truth. Central to the Gandhian dialectic is the belief that through honest communication, disputing parties may reach a mutually beneficial understanding of each-other's positions. As Satyagrahis and their opponents combine their perspectives, they get closer to a shared understanding and a solution. Finding the Truth may be accomplished via respectful disagreement.

Paul Wehr provides a clear distinction between the Gandhian dialectic and compromise. The author demonstrates why the Gandhian approach takes a fundamentally different path ahead than compromise when a conflict develops. When Satyagraha is implemented, the dialectical battle between competing ideas results in a synthesis, not a compromise. The adherents of Satyagraha (nonviolent resistance) would always stand firm for his or her beliefs. However, he is prepared, and that is huge, to have his opponent persuade him that their position is the genuine one, or at least the closest to the Truth. In the Gandhian dialectical process, both sides can compromise at any point by persuading the other to modify their position, and it is hardly a compromise, though (Wehr, 1979).

After the adversary has been persuaded, the protagonist no longer faces just the antagonist. No one makes concessions to an opponent in order to win him over. Peaceful protest and persuasion must continue until a change is agreeable to all parties. This adjustment, which represents a compromise between the two viewpoints, will be accepted by all parties. There needs to be a clear victor among the contending groups. However, there is no settlement in which either party gives up any of its original rights (Bondurant, 1965. pp. 197). The Gandhian dialectic approach is similar to the consensus-building strategies used by Quaker groups and certain older administration forms. Nobody wins, and nobody loses. Opponents gathered for a "meeting of the minds" (Bourdieu, 1962).

Civil resistance and a "constructive program" are other hallmarks of a nonviolent struggle (Satyagraha) movement. In contrast to community service, civil resistance actively seeks to change the status quo. Promoting social equality, economic progress, and fundamental health and education are all part of the

optimistic vision of the Indian independence movement. Civic resistance brings down repressive institutions, while uplifting media fosters their replacement (Bondurant, 1958. pp.180; 181).

Gandhi's Constructive Program Practice- A constructive program is an approach to social change that aims to build viable alternatives to the systems and norms that are being challenged. The constructive plan defines and promotes a nonviolent goal. It comprises a wide range of effective methods, tools, and institutions. They empower oppressed people to stand up to injustice and oppression without violence by mobilizing resources (information, organization, method, people, money, etc.). The result is an environment free of and opposed to violence. An all-encompassing plan is being implemented to unite different communities and interests to form a "nonviolent society."

While civil disobedience and non-cooperation are crucial components of any nonviolent struggle (Satyagraha) campaign, they are not Satyagraha per se (Gandhi, 1970. pp. 29; 38). These tools may be a powerful expression of the "power of truth," but only if utilized properly. Satyagraha, often known as peaceful resistance, requires more than just not resorting to violence and sticking to one's beliefs. Bondurant argues that nonviolent struggle (Satyagraha) may be distinguished by its "constructive agenda," which includes a gradual increase in intensity and an acceptance of the consequence (Bondurant, 1988. pp. 42; 43).

The positive plan entails building a new civilization and bolstering the group's dignity in battle. New, competing institutions are being formed with the backlash against their predecessors. Resistance groups usually use the tactic of starting again with a new society after the revolution. For Gandhi, this act of kindness was the bedrock of defiance and a precondition for liberation from

tyranny. The Constructive Program manifests Gandhi's dream; it embodies his positive strategies and foreshadows his ultimate goal, the Sarvodaya society. The term "state" refers to "violence in a concentrated and organized form," which is ironic given that all political and legal power has been destroyed in stateless Sarvodaya and only moral authority still regulates interpersonal interactions.

Each community functions as a participatory democracy from inside out, making decisions by agreement to align individual and group self-government, making up a large civilization made up of many small communities that are all independent and self-governing but connected in a non-hierarchical network that is part of the "oceanic circle" (Ostergaard, 1986. pp. 149). Thus, a positive goal should be at the heart of every resistance operation (Naess, 2002. pp. 91). During the fight for Indian independence, a daring plan was developed to bolster the influence of Indian communities and people with low incomes. Before the national liberation struggle began, Gandhi travelled extensively across the countryside (Gandhi, 1945).

Gandhi's trips gave him the information he needed to design the Program's structure, revealing that most Indians live in tens of thousands of rural areas in dire economic conditions. For him, it was clear that these people were the resistance's lynchpin. Changes to the positive Program ranged widely, from regulations on personal cleanliness to developing village co-ops as an economic mechanism. The British had a stranglehold on India's economy and government, so the country's citizens attempted independence by establishing their institutions. These included a parallel parliament and a decentralized apparel manufacturing sector based on traditional crafts (the All-India Congress).

These deeds refuted British propaganda that Indians were incapable of fending for themselves. It became increasingly difficult for the colonial state to repress the resistance movement simultaneously. By establishing effective political bodies, economic cooperatives, media outlets, social alliances, and educational institutions, the resistance movement would be able to use its internal resources to aid those who had been harmed as a result of their participation in the resistance (Karn, 1994. pp. 162; 241).

Western Contribution to Institutionalization of Nonviolent Struggle (Satyagraha)- Clarence Case, one of the first researchers of Gandhi's philosophy, examined the psychological dynamics of suffering and the influence of morality in Gandhi's campaign in his book 'Non-Violent Coercion. As noted by Case, passive resistance and other related sources provide "methods of social pressure" that make up "non-violent coercion." Furthermore, he saw the parallels between Gandhi's strategies and protests, strikes, and boycotts in general. This suggested that more study be done to have a deeper comprehension of the nonviolent approach. However, others emphasised the study and support of Gandhian methods as a particularly favoured collection of principles, thus Case's course was not immediately followed. Richard Gregg, a well-known Gandhian scholar, then took up the nonviolence subject and published a book in 1935 called "The Power of Nonviolence" (Gregg, 1935).

Gregg invented the word "moral jiu-jitsu" to describe how pain may change. This term refers to the tactical redistribution of adversary forces, which causes attackers to become physically disbalanced. If the civil resister does not have to respond in kind, the aggressor will become morally unbalanced and stop assaulting. Civil resistance practitioners try to make their oppressive

opponents feel ashamed so they cannot defend their oppressive actions. In nonviolent practice, practitioners suffer for their cause without retaliation or hate emotions (Gregg, 1935).

Barthelemy de Ligt, a Dutch anti-militarist, highlighted that Gandhi's method of struggle was crucial in his book *The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on War and Revolution* (1937), while Krishnalal Shridharani endorsed nonviolent struggle as the means of achieving an authentic revolution in his publication 'War Without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method and its Accomplishments' in 1939. After 1945, Westerners called satyagraha 'non-violent resistance' or 'non-violent action'. Nonviolent techniques were prominent in the US civil rights struggle against segregation, as seen by the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and the 1963 March on Washington and widespread resistance in Birmingham, Alabama. Martin Luther King's Protestantism-based civil resistance campaign (King, 1958; 1963). In 1958, American political scientist Joan Bondurant published "Conquest of Violence," a work that translated Gandhi's ideas into Western political contexts after a protracted period.

Gandhi's idea of nonviolent activities (Satyagraha), sometimes referred to as truth forces, is best explained by Bondurant. In general, the notion of nonviolent action has remained on the periphery of the academic world despite the explanation and analysis provided by many researchers of Gandhian philosophy. Gandhi's influence caused the study of nonviolence to concentrate on investigating the moral implications of nonviolent civil help, which involves changing the opponent's conduct and discovering the Truth (Bondurant, 1958). US civil rights inspired nonviolent struggle. It inspired the 1967–72 Northern Ireland rallies against prejudice and Protestant political

dominance, however the demonstrators had no charismatic non-violent leader and used non-violence tactically. In *Politics in the Streets*, Bob Purdie examines the morality of non-violent opposition but contends that the implicit threat of violence was the key leverage (Purdie, 1990).

The fact that social movement academics have not given much thought to nonviolent movements may be a reason to stress moral forces. These studies grew in popularity throughout the 1970s and 1980s because collective action research gathered information on resource mobilization and the development of political theories and emphasized rational behaviour studies. Others, who emphasized the belief and emotions of movement practitioners and the new paradigm structure that is altering organizational capability, structural variables, and resource availability, rejected the breakdown theories so as to blame for the rise of protest. Nonviolent action's potential to resist injustice, combat coups, and contribute to national defence was increasingly theoretically studied in the 1970s. Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack's 'War Without Weapons: Nonviolence in National Defence (1974)' links nonviolent resistance to Clausewitzian strategic theory and emphasizes that 'unity' would be 'the centre of gravity'.

Gandhi's religious and moral convictions attracted the attention of many scholars studying nonviolent action principles. However, many believed that Gandhi was only a brilliant organizer and strategist. Notably, in the 1970s, nonviolent researchers who eschewed a moral focus in favour of pragmatic study were more conversant with the intellectual underpinnings of group activities (Nepstad, 2016. pp.3). Gene Sharp's 'The Politics of Nonviolent Action' made a significant theoretical and strategic contribution to the field of civil resistance. Sharp made the case that, despite a variety of organisational,

psychological, and material components, the ultimate source of power for rulers is the loyalty of their subordinates by drawing on political and sociological theory. Since a regime can only exist if there is at least implicit permission, it will fall apart as soon as this consent is consciously withheld. Sharp wanted to demonstrate that a virtuous dedication to nonviolence was not necessary for civic resistance (Sharp, 1973).

He promoted a military-style approach that placed a strong focus on time, organisation, and the selection of suitable tactics. In addition, he enumerated 198 nonviolent conflict tactics and illustrated how a vast array of nonviolent strategies had developed. When he discusses about the "dynamics" of nonviolent protest, Gregg's psychological idea of "moral jiu-jitsu" was translated by Sharp as "political jiu-jitsu," or shifting the political power structure. Additionally, he disassociated himself from the Gandhian focus on "conversion," contending that victory may also be attained by nonviolent compulsion or concession made by the adversary. Later on, he included regime dissolve as a fourth potential result (Sharp, 1973).

In his three-volume work "The Politics of Nonviolence," Gene Sharp made a first step toward this transformation and advocated for a purely pragmatic approach to nonviolent action. Sharp argued for a utilitarian theory of nonviolent action and said practical peaceful techniques are more successful than violence, even though he understood that Gandhi's moral nonviolent action model would be difficult for many people to follow. Sharp underlined that violence is unnecessary for people if they have access to multiple types of power and are aware of them, including the ability to work, skills, material resources, and a specific potential for collaboration.

Withholding these power sources allows the system to work and prevents the state from being in good health.

Sharp assessed it and commented on pragmatic nonviolent action that nonviolent actions have the potential for revolutions. Civic nonviolence practitioners must be as strategically minded and well-trained as military units. Practitioners of nonviolent action must use their influence on adversaries to transform them (Nepstad, 2016. pp.3).

"Then people deny their opponents the cooperation and basic citizen assistance that is basic needs of any hierarchical system and state's governments when they withhold help, refuse their cooperations, and persist and defy disobedience," says Gene Sharp. "People may disobey laws that they reject. The bureaucracy may deny obeying the instructions of the government. Workers may hold their jobs, which the economy may paralyze. Police and soldiers may mutiny or become lone wolves.

Sharp has motivated academics and research teams to examine and publish descriptive explanations of effective nonviolent civil resistance to demonstrate that it works. These academics and researchers made a priceless contribution by exposing civic resistance that was often concealed or invisible. Arendt and Sharp were observers in their writings. The concern expressed by the Central European activists who advocated for nonviolent change instead of violent protest was that it may lead to Soviet involvement. However, they also argued that nonviolence was morally justified since they wanted to expose the systemic deceit of communist party administrations. Prominent opposition thinkers like Vaclav Benda and Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia, György Konrad in Hungary, and Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron' in Poland discussed and developed common themes, such as the necessity of creating a "parallel polis" or "civil society" from below as an opposition to an entrenched state (Václav Havel, 1985; Adam Michnik, 1985; György Konrad, 1984). Kuron' urged 'Don't burn down Party

Committee Headquarters, found your own (Jonathan Schell, 2004, pp. 200).'

In the popular 1978 writing "The Power of the Powerless," Va'clav Havel discussed how little deeds of defiance, like refusing to display a party banner in a greengrocer's window, may topple an ideologically false society. People may choose to "live a lie" by choosing not to cooperate on their own, for as by abstaining from voting in absurd elections. Alternatively, organisations might plan a demonstration, performance of prohibited music, open letter of protest, or strike (Va'clav Havel, 1987).

The 1989–1991 events provide material for a comparative analysis of the causes of effective nonviolent protests and the various outcomes of resistance. For instance, in Romania, the initial nonviolent protest quickly erupted to violence, with the result being more repression and corruption rather than an evolution towards democratic pluralism. However, China had the most significant "failure" of civil opposition in 1989. China in 1989 may be contrasted with civil resistance movements in Asia in addition to people power in Europe (Mark Thompson discusses both in *Democratic Revolutions*) (Mark Thompson, 2004).

Kurt Schock addresses the absence of comparable analysis in his book *Unarmed Insurrections*, drawing comparisons between China's final failure and the (small) victories of the Movement to Restore Democracy in Nepal in 1990 and the struggle against the military regime in Thailand in 1991–1992. Schock also discusses two additional significant instances of people power in Asia throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Burma and the Philippines, which offered a stark contrast between success and failure (Kurt Schock, 2005). The successful non-violent struggle against Marcos from 1983-2006 has popularised the phrase 'people power', uniting Catholic

nuns and priests with vast parts of the populace and causing a substantial split in the military forces (Douglas J. Elwood, 1986; Stephen Zunes, 1999; Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, 2000).

Palestinians first used guerilla methods led by an external leadership in their struggle for an independent country. However, in 1987, a notable internal movement emerged that focused on civil resistance. The 'First Intifada' began as a widespread movement including all segments of the public determined to refrain from using firearms, however there were instances of stone throwing and sporadic violence. Civil resistance persisted for several years. The 'First Intifada' has been thoroughly examined from a nonviolent standpoint (Ralph E. Crow, 1990; Johan Galtung, 1989; William Vogeley, 1992; Mary Elizabeth King, 2007). However, it also demonstrates the constraints of non-cooperation. In 'Living the Intifada,' Andrew Rigby explores the extent to which resisters may influence a situation when their opponent does not rely on their cooperation. The movement participated in acts of non-cooperation with the Israeli state, causing significant economic harm to Israel, as argued by Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall. The Intifada differed from traditional resistance to domestic oppression and Gandhian anti-colonial movements due to the conflicting claims of Israelis and Palestinians to the same territory, which raised the stakes for the coloniser (Andrew Rigby, 1991).

Sharp's Politics of Nonviolent Action underpins numerous studies. Zielonka's Solidarity, Clark's Kosovo, and Shock's comparative case studies comprise his strategic prescriptions or consent theory of power. Sharp's emphasis on autonomy and independent actions has been compared to structuralist ideas of power in capitalism and sexism by Brian Martin. Martin also highlights the

challenge these theories have in explaining how resistance against such systems can affect (Brian Martin, 1989).

Burrowes separates nonviolent tactics into two categories: the "nonviolent counteroffensive" and the "nonviolent defensive." The defense's overarching goal is "to consolidate the defending population's power and will to resist the aggression/repression." It is necessary to mobilize significant social groups in the opposing society, including women's organizations, labor unions, religious institutions, and ethnic communities. The counteroffensive's declared strategic goal is "to modify the will (commitment) of the opponent elite to conduct the aggression, and to undermine their power (capacity) to do so." (Burrowes, 1996).

Sharp highlights in the first segment of the twenty-first century that strategic planning is a crucial component of nonviolent movements that are effective. Additionally, he contends that it is crucial to define long-term objectives and a strategy before organizing tactics, and that leaders of popular conflicts often make the error of prioritizing tactics over long-term strategy: Social and political movements often feature people and organizations that understand the need to prepare, but they only do so very briefly, tactically, or on a very restricted scale. They make no effort to create a more comprehensive, long-term, or tactical plan of action. These kinds of failures lead to significantly decreased, and even nonexistent, chances of success. One loses their strength. One's efforts are futile. One's purpose is not adequately served, and sacrifices are squandered. One is likely to fall short of their goals if they do not have a strategic strategy (Sharp, 2003).

According to Robert L. Helvey, civilian-based resistance should be predicated on a "strategic estimate" that assesses the advantages and disadvantages of both the opposing force and the resisting people in order to

optimize its efficacy (Helvey, 2004). A "Movement Action Plan" that examines the role of nonviolent action in significant American social movements is outlined by Moyer using the US campaign to raise awareness of breast cancer, the US civil rights movement, the struggle against nuclear power, and the struggle against the neo-liberal model of globalization (Moyer, 2001). Currently, Ackerman and Merriman argue that three characteristics and three tendencies play a crucial role in the success of civil resistance movements. Taken as a whole, these six elements are all within the reach of a movement and ought to be the focus of its strategic examination (Ackerman and Merriman, 2015).

The fall of Milos̃ević in Serbia in 2000 is covered in Sharp's *Waging Nonviolent Struggle* and Thompson's *Democratic Revolutions in the twenty-first century* (Thompson, 2004). Nonetheless, academic experts in the field have thoroughly investigated the "color revolutions" that have occurred in former Soviet states after 2003 in the *Journal of Democracy* and the *Post-Communist Studies Journals*.

Maria Stephan and Erica Chenoweth conducted an extensive empirical study that aimed to compare the effectiveness of violent and nonviolent struggle. The study involved a comparison of 323 resistance campaigns, spanning from 1900 to 2006, in order to assess the relative efficacy of violent and nonviolent methods in attaining the objectives of a resistance campaign (Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008). Chenoweth and Stephan subsequently expanded upon this concept in their renowned book-length research titled "Why Civil Resistance Works." This study emphasizes the significance of mass mobilization as a crucial determinant of the success rate of a popular uprising, which is frequently considerably higher in nonviolent conflicts. Given subsequent disruptions in the

Middle East and North Africa, a more comprehensive analysis is conducted to assess their findings (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2014).

Civil resistance has regained public and academic attention following the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and European anti-austerity movements. Scholarly journals such as *Journal of Peace Research*, *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, and *Mobilization* have recently devoted special issues to civil resistance and several important books on civil resistance have been published in recent years, including *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, edited by Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (2009), *Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest*, by Sean Scalmer (2011), *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*, by Sharon Erickson Nepstad (2011), *Violence, Nonviolence and the Palestinian Movement*, by Wendy Pearlman (2011), *Nonviolence in Political Theory*, by Iain Attack (2012), *Rediscovering Nonviolent History: Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles*, edited by Maciej J. Bartkowski (2013), *People Power and Political Change: Key Issues and Concepts*, by April Carter (2013), *Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability & Justice*, by Shaazka Beyerle (2014), *Understanding Nonviolence: Contours and Contexts*, edited by Maia Carter Hallward and Julie M. Norman (2015), *Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transitions from Armed to Nonviolent Struggle*, edited by Véronique Dudouet (2015), *Nonviolent Resistance: A Philosophical Introduction*, by Todd May (2015), Stellan Vinthagen's *A Theory of Nonviolent Action: How Civil Resistance Works* (2015) and Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan's *How Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (2011), a

groundbreaking empirical study that compares violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns. According to Judith Butler's *The Force of Nonviolence: An Ethico-Political Bind* (2020), nonviolence must be linked to a larger political struggle for social equality. It further claims that nonviolence is frequently misinterpreted as a passive soul-calming exercise or an individualist ethical relationship to power.

Division of Nonviolent Struggle Practice- The two interpretations of profound pacifist principles or religion has never been substantially contested as conflict tactics. This paper resulted in a genuine divergence of the notion of nonviolence struggle known as principled and pragmatic nonviolent practice, as well as an actual break between actual principle and pragmatic nonviolence practice in nonviolence practice. According to this strategy for maintaining and gaining control, a nonviolent practice favoured several honest and admirable methods. The population's use of nonviolence as a tool and its direct actions turns it into a weapon (Baldoli, R. 2019. P.9).

The Gene Sharpian "political jiu-jitsu" is well-known. Gene Sharp believes that, in contrast to Gandhi, the populace have to accept consensus based on nonviolence to balance state and governance. If the populace continues to cooperate with the state, government, or regime authority, it will be challenging to undervalue the legitimacy of the state or regime. Gene Sharp defines assent or concurrence as state power (Baldoli, R. 2019. P.9). Gene Sharp emphasized controlling and applying pressure on dictators' powers more than moral approaches. He offered a lengthy list of nonviolent action or struggle strategies that might be used to exert pressure on tyrants. Baldoli cited Gene Sharp's distinction between the method of action and the guiding

principle of nonviolence as a major addition to the study of nonviolence (Baldoli, R. 2019. P.10).

Nonviolence acts as a persuasive tactic or a superior religious and moral force in the quest for power. It is a fantastic instrument to affect human lives in addition to perform magnificent deeds that God adored. In each case, a one-dimensional depiction of the nonviolent effort is shown. It is not for sceptics to make a faith-based assumption, nor does it simplify the social chess game, nor does it need much persuasion.

These ideas needed to be developed methodically using modern social science for debate and discussion to make matters worse. These differ from the viewpoints often referred to as the pragmatic or technical approach or the principled idea. This idea clarifies the strength of nonviolent action and how peaceful struggle or action functions in society (Vinthagen, S., & Klandermans, B. 2015. P. 259). Gandhi's satyagraha actions are rationally based on standards and assumptions that are methodically identified by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess. Additionally, he skillfully contrasts the mechanics of conflict and the outcomes of aggressive and peaceful resistance. Major contributor to the field of peace studies, Johan Galtung, was a student of Naess's who systematized the forms and norms of satyagraha (1992).

The relationship between nonviolence and political activity is intricate and multifaceted. Nine examples of "generic non-violence" are listed by Gene Sharp (1959), including non-resistance, moral resistance, active reconciliation, passive resistance, peaceful resistance, non-violent direct action, satyagraha, and nonviolent insurrection. Six These were boiled down to four basic elements by Bishwa B. Chatterjee and Shyam S. Bhattacharjee (1971): an absolutist stance on the moral-ethical commitment to nonviolence, particularistic

nonviolent activism, active principles aiming for complete transformation, and nonviolence as a practical strategy. While there is no need to categorize nonviolence in relation to political action, many academics and activists have distinguished between two general types of nonviolence: principled nonviolence, also known as ethical, comprehensive, or unqualified nonviolence, and pragmatic nonviolence, also known as tactical, strategic, selective, or qualified nonviolence. Sharp has said personal devotion is unnecessary for nonviolent action or unimportant to the movement's success. It must be necessary to integrate strategy research directly with nonviolent resistance or action studies (Zunes, H. Merriman, H. and Stephan, M. J. 2017.P.3).

Principled Nonviolent Struggle or Action- Indeed, Gandhi's nonviolent message could be implemented hardly for prolonged period. Gandhi's voice was constantly raised against deception and lies, and if his corrections were disregarded, he reiterated them before unwaveringly applying his principles. His peaceful brand of Truth eventually prevailed. Even then, not everyone approved of Gandhi's behaviour. Gandhi's activities were crucial, and no academician or researcher from the West could dispute that. Many academics acknowledged this and backed it since it may even be significant (Scalmer, 2011, 72)

The practice of principled nonviolent struggle, founded on religious and ethical principles and functioning as prohibitions against violence, may be distinguished from strategic nonviolent civil resistance battles. Many practitioners and participants of the nonviolent fight have not been wholly devoted to the principles of principled nonviolence, even though many of them have been as invested in the cause as Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. (Stephan, M. J., and Chenoweth, E. 2008.P.10).

The absence of violence is a cornerstone of ethical and religious practices. Physical damage is prohibited in its worldview. Moreover, it forbids verbal abuse and harbouring animosity for adversaries. Principled nonviolence focuses on setting boundaries for acting and thinking about adversaries or situations. It is another practice of avoiding violence based on an ethical and religious belief system, in addition to the first principle of the principled nonviolent fight. This technique stresses that the practitioner responds to injustice without violence (Merriman, H. and Barrach-Yousefi, N. 2021. P. 90).

Pragmatic Nonviolence Struggle Action- Gandhi divided nonviolence into two categories: those who adhere to it and those who do so as a matter of policy. Modern researchers, including the well-known Gene Sharp, have replicated many of these differences. This difference provides two conditions for nonviolent acts: the first is that nonviolent actions must be devoted to pragmatic methods, and the second is that nonviolent actions must be solely committed to nonviolence. The pragmatic primary dimension's applications reveal a strategy for conflict and the character of commitment to the peaceful conflict. Activists use this strategy to settle disputes. Also, it depicts crucial connections between methods and ends and the activists' attitudes toward opponents. A reformist-revolutionary method is crucial in addition to these divisions since its indicators assess how activists use their goals and the operational period.

Pragmatic nonviolence practitioners consider this the situation's most persuasive option. They connect those with opposing interests and the conflict's adversaries. This strategy aims to defeat the opposition, and in case that causes them any bodily pain or another injury, they hold the opposition accountable for it. The discussion, as mentioned above, of Gandhi's nonviolent conflict

strategies may help to highlight key distinctions between reformist and pragmatic nonviolent action strategies. Social conflict is characterized by the danger of autonomous political frameworks and ambitions to address this issue through internal reform, two of the main characteristics of the reformist strategy of nonviolent action (R. J. Burrowes, 1996).

Although pragmatism's belief in the separability of purity of methods and purity of objectives, in the incompatibility of interest, is a property of peaceful activities, it is a notion of conflict and a negative idea of the adversaries. That completely contradicts Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy and the way of handling conflict. Many pragmatic practitioners choose nonviolent practices because they are less concerned with the concerns surrounding the connection between means and goals associated with these practices. This attitude of pragmatic practitioners evolved due to taking into account and sometimes using its applications, such as secrecy, using lies, or undermining campaigners (Burrowes, 1996. p.113).

Difference Between Principled and Pragmatic Nonviolence Action- This portion is focused on distinguishing and featuring between principled and pragmatic nonviolence action concepts based on Burrowes's (1996) criteria.

1. Nonviolence is the best ethical way, so principled practitioners choose it, while pragmatic practitioners choose it for its availability of the most effective methods.
2. Principled practitioners believe in the indivisibility of means and end, while pragmatics believes both may be separable.
3. Principled practitioner views conflict as the collective problem and the conflict of opponents, and they view the fulfilment of all opponents' needs as part of the struggle.

On the other hand, pragmatic practitioners view interrelations between incompatible interests with antagonists in conflict.

4. In principled nonviolent action, opponents view themselves as a partner. Hence, nonviolence practitioners choose to suffer themselves rather than inflict suffering on themselves, while pragmatic practitioners decide that they will defeat their opponents. They accept all infliction on the opponents apart from physical injury.

5. A principled practitioner views nonviolence as a way and key to life, while a pragmatic practitioner views it as an influential key to political goals.

Conclusion : Gandhi's acts in the West remind us of the value of nonviolence and provide some context for its possible uses. Was it a success? There was not just one kind of "nonviolence" used throughout the period under examination. Although activists regularly voiced their thoughts, they were not the best judges of the efficacy of nonviolent initiatives. In the beginning, many activists inflated their triumphs (to attract recruits); subsequently, would-be radicals rejected "nonviolence" for its identification with liberalism and whiteness, as much as for any technical shortcomings in technique or strategy.

While there needs to be more data on the previous pages to make an informed judgment about the efficacy of nonviolent strategies, certain theories may be put forward. The majority of Western research, as well as those credited to Richard Gregg, disproved Gandhi's strategy of persuading opponents via voluntary sacrifice. Criminals seldom change their behaviour or opinions; instead, the person witnessing the nonviolent suffering reacts more emotionally. During the 1960s, even Satyagraha proponents modified their strategies, shifting away from "conversion" and toward nonviolent persuasion or other

forms of public pressure. Even when nonviolence was successful, it often remained below expectations.

Second, peaceful protesters who followed the "Satyagraha" principle were more effective in basic technical effectiveness; by contrast, nonviolent protesters who used the doctrine pragmatically were less likely to achieve their objectives. A modest, often aggressive performance was unable to elicit the respect and attraction that a march led by responsible and organized campaigners might. As nonviolence lacked a "morale" to guide it, it produced subpar "tactics." The so-called "power of love" was no illusion in this regard, and the more skilful supporters of the Gandhian way outperformed the ostensible realpolitikers (Weber, 2003).

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